1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

Nakarib clan, but the clan Natchi adopted her. The Natchi people duly provided the ceremonial currency for Matarē's marriage. But Matarē considers himself a member of the Nakarib clan.

In the olden days there was another way in which a clan could acquire members by adoption. This was the case of children taken in warfare. Adult prisoners of both sexes were killed and eaten. As a reason for not keeping the women, they said it would not do for the women to be taken to live in the villages of their enemies, they would always be thinking of their old homes and would run away. But the small children, both boys and girls, were brought to the village, and brought up in the families of their captors. They were assigned to the clan of the wife of the man who captured them; she looked after them as if she were their mother. They forgot all about their former home, and if they afterwards met any of their kinsmen in another fight they did not know them and could not talk their language. The names of several people to whom this had happened were given to me, some still living in villages along the North Bougainville coast and in Buka, including that of a woman who had been captured as a girl by the man—now in later middle life—who was talking to me, when he was 'a little fellow just learning how to use an axe'.

Members of certain clans are said to be characterized by the position of the lines on the palms of their hands. The correct positions are shown in the accompanying sketches.

FIG. 3. Diagram showing palms characteristic of clans.

The first three of these were given independently in three different villages, Petats, Kurtatchi, and Saposa. That for Nagi'ai was added by Saposa only. No patterns were assigned to the other clans. It is said that a child will always have hands similar to those of his mother. I looked at the hands of a number of people, and when I

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

pointed out some that did not conform to type they said that those were wrong, but did not attempt any explanation, nor did the discrepancy appear to trouble them at all. One man said they must have got the lines from their fathers.

This belief is found also in Buin, in the extreme south of Bougainville, where it was recorded by Thurnwald (1912, vol. i, p. 536 and Tafel III). He gives drawings of three patterns, one of which, for the Fish-eagle clan (*manugau*), corresponds exactly to the drawing in Fig. 3 for the Naboin (Manu) people.

THE LINEAGE GROUP

The clan is, of course, made up of a number of lineage groups. The separate lineage groups seem to have been, in the olden days, far more self-contained than is the case at present, but even now the lineage functions to some extent as a unit with its own internal organization.

The child whose relations with his fellows we discussed at the beginning of this chapter will be taught from his infancy to regard as the person having most authority over him his mother's eldest brother, whom he calls *tsoanē*, and who calls him *pasunē*. But this man is himself under the authority of his own mother's eldest living brother, as long as any survive. The actual head of the lineage, therefore, is its eldest living male. The small child, however, will not at first realize this, since the man in question, his mother's mother's brother, calls him *tsubna'in*, 'grandson', and shows him all the affectionate attention usual in this community between grandparent and grandchild.

The members of a lineage will often be found living together in a hamlet, on ground which they claim as the property of their clan. As a result of the government policy of encouraging the natives to group themselves together in larger villages, for greater ease of supervision, the hamlet, which seems to have been originally the local unit (and, in the mountain districts, still is), is now becoming merged in the village, so that the lineage group no longer dominates the situation as once it did. The older state of things is best illustrated at Saposa, where the people are scattered over a number of tiny islands. Each island was designated as the property of a certain lineage group, in some cases for habitation, in some for growing coco-nuts, in some for purposes of burial. At Lemanmanu, on the Lontis coast (NW. Buka), I was told that in the olden

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

When I showed my friends at Kurtatchi the photographs I had taken during a visit to the Kunua mountain natives, the first thing they noticed was the absence of loin-cloths. The women asked particularly if I had seen the Kunua women's pubic hair. On being answered in the affirmative, they seemed quite horrified, and both men and women hastened to explain that the Kunua people were only 'bush Kanakas' who did not know any better. Yet scarcely more than a few years ago they were following exactly the same fashion themselves.

Since the upper portion of their bodies is not covered, there is no such feeling connected with the breasts. Remarks will be passed on their shape, &c., entirely devoid of sexual implication, just as we might criticize a person's nose or eyes. The breasts do not figure in the tales, and, so far as I can learn, do not bulk largely in native love-making, though firm upstanding breasts are, as has been previously stated, considered a beauty.

In attempting to investigate the reactions of these people towards matters connected with sex, and to obtain information regarding sexual practices, I never encountered any hesitation or reticence, on the part of either men or women, whether by themselves or in mixed company. Many were quite willing to give their own personal experiences, and the details are, besides, often common knowledge throughout the village. The marital histories I have cited for illustration, when not based on personal observation or on information arising out of the collection of genealogies, were either given by the individuals concerned, or by other people in the village. All the persons mentioned were well known to me personally, unless otherwise stated.

But while willing enough to talk, they have great difficulty in putting their ideas into words, even in their own language, as soon as one tries to go beyond mere concrete description. In such inarticulateness they are, of course, by no means unique. I found it more pronounced in the women than in the men, and it was, far more than shyness or opposition, my chief difficulty throughout the whole investigation.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

II. *Regulations concerning food.*

When they first put on the hat, the boys may not eat opossum, but this prohibition is removed as soon as their hair has grown a little. It may be, though it was not stated by my informants, that this taboo has arisen because the cuscus opossum has very short fur, with the idea that if they were to eat the animal before their hair had grown beyond the length of the fur, it would never attain greater length than this. Even after they are permitted to eat opossum, it must be cooked in an oven; they may not touch any 'possum meat that has been roasted in the embers or boiled in a pot. Pig is allowed them cooked in any fashion.

Fish may be partaken of freely, cooked in any manner, except that certain specified kinds are totally prohibited. These are: *karawa*, *sosoa* (garfish), *toro*, *poa*, and *usey*. I could elicit no reason for the prohibition of these particular fish. They are not rare, neither are they especially highly prized as articles of food. It is noteworthy that there is no prohibition on the eating of bonito.

The boys may eat fruit, except a certain variety of banana called *masōn*, the fruit of the banana palm used in the girl's first menstruation ceremony. The relation between bananas and sexual matters has been referred to in another connexion—it is because of this that the fruit is prohibited to the *upi* boys.

There is also a taboo upon the eating of canarium almonds, until a ceremony has been performed whereat the boys are given nuts to eat in public. If this rule is broken it is said that their hair will not grow. I could discover no reason why such a result was supposed to follow. It may be that it was used as a deterrent, and that the taboo is for disciplinary purposes. Since canarium almonds are eaten with the greatest relish by everybody, it represents a very real deprivation; but, on the other hand, nothing was said by any of my informants about the idea of discipline, in discussing the regulations enforced at this stage, though it entered very definitely into the dietary restrictions imposed during the seclusion prior to the *wapi* ceremony, as this was clearly stated more than once in our discussions on these matters. Perhaps one might venture to conjecture that, like some of the Australian food taboos, it may originally have been devised with a view to conserving the supply of nuts for the benefit of the rest of the village. Seeing that the boys of Bougainville do not differ fundamentally from boys

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

882 elsewhere, and that opportunities for eating the forbidden nuts with
262 little danger of discovery are legion, I suspect that this rule is more honoured in theory than in practice, in spite of the urgent necessity of having a good growth of hair to show at the *watawutʃ*. But considerable stress was laid upon it in all our talks upon the subject, and its theoretical importance is also clear from the fact that fathers, and, less frequently, mothers of boys wearing the hat will voluntarily refrain from eating canarium almonds in sympathy with their sons. Sobak and his wife Tsonakets were doing so while I was in residence at Kurtatchi.

882 In the olden days the *upi* boys might never be seen in the act
264 of eating, but had to take their food into the *tobar* and consume it
177 in private. They were not allowed to handle knives, so it was the duty of their *amro* to cut up their food for them. This custom is no longer observed.

882 They may chew the betel-mixture, but must use with it only the
276 leaves of the betel-pepper, not the fruit, which is preferred under ordinary circumstances.

III. *Regulations concerning personal appearance.*

882 The hair of the boys is never cut or trimmed from the time they
302 go into the bush before the *wapi* ceremony until it is ceremonially cut short at the *wasipsip*. It is pushed up underneath the *upi*, except for a few straggling ends on neck and forehead.

593 The fathers of boys wearing the *upi* sometimes lay themselves
302 under a similar prohibition as regards cutting their hair, which they tie up into a knot on the top of the head. This method of hairdressing is seen in Plate 52. Mothers do not cut their hair over the temples, and do not put paint on it. This custom is not obligatory upon either sex, and is followed only by a few.

826 There are certain 'medicines' for making the hair grow long, of
824 which the following is a typical example:
789

Take the long (tap) root of the plant *niyowan* (unidentified). Chew the end of it with the betel-mixture, spit out the resulting mash into your hand and put it inside the hat, pushing it well up to the top. It will pull up the hair and make it grow longer. The longer the root you chew, the longer your hair will be.

882 The boys may not wear red paint on their hair, or white paint
302 on their temples, except as prescribed for the various ceremonies, when it is put on by their *amro*. In one case the *amro* of a boy

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

the withdrawal of the novices into the bush for their seclusion preparatory to the *wapi* ceremony is not only the formal expression of their fear lest harm should befall the boys in their new and perilous adventure, but also an occasion for the shedding of real tears over the son who is no longer a baby—an intensified form of the feeling 'he isn't mine any more', of the English mother when her son first goes to boarding-school, mingled, as in her case, with pride in the boy who is on his way to become a man. With regard to the boys, it is no easier to get at the real feelings of a Melanesian youth than it is with his English counterpart, but I think that, except in the case of the boy who takes the step at too early an age, pride in his new status definitely triumphs over any regret he may feel at losing contact with his mother and sisters. An atmosphere of mysterious importance surrounds him all the time he wears the *upi*. I have often been out with a group of women when they have suddenly scattered from the narrow track into the bush, with a whisper of '*Upi!*' to make way for a party of boys returning from some ploy of their own. I have walked with women, who were carrying a heavy load, through an extra mile of long wet grass to reach the village by a roundabout track in order not to pass too close to the *tobar*. If I had occasion, as sometimes occurred, to speak sharply to one of these boys for some reason of my own, looks of horror from any woman who happened to be within hearing distance indicated that I had failed in the respect due to the hat. In all the discussions I had with both men and women, the same deference was paid to the *upi*. It has a marked effect on the psychology of the village. The women in particular seem never to be entirely free from a certain compulsion—oppression is perhaps too strong a word—connected with it.

The *upi* itself is apparently only a symbol. The really important thing is the hair, which is pushed up inside it, and must be kept hidden under it. The purpose of the preliminary seclusion in the bush is to give the hair time to grow long enough to keep the *upi* in position, and the reason for the fear of the hat falling off or being jerked out of place is that the hair would then be seen. If a woman were to catch sight of it she would be put to death.

It is, of course, very tempting to quote the parallel of Samson, and to see in the flowing locks the source of the youth's strength, of which the glance of a woman might deprive him, but I could find no evidence that any such motive was present.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

to represent are used at the *wapi* ceremony only, and this is the only one which is kept secret from the women. Both *watawutʃ* and *wasipsip* are held within the precincts of the village, and may be witnessed by anybody.

The people say that the *watawutʃ* is held in order to remove the taboo forbidding boys wearing the *upi* from entering huts occupied by women. It also removes, as previously stated, certain prohibitions regarding diet and chewing the betel-mixture. After this ceremony has been held there is no further need for the boy to be careful about being seen without his hat. The idea is, according to the old men, that as his growth of hair has been publicly shown when he climbed the *roror* tree, its length is no longer a secret, whereas if the women had seen it in the process of growth, they would not be surprised at its length when it was exhibited for their special benefit at the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

Most of the restrictions which have hitherto shut the wearer of the hat away from female society are relaxed after he has been through the *watawutʃ*. There still remains the taboo on sexual intercourse, which is not permitted until after the *wasipsip*. But the breaking of this rule is not so serious an offence as it would have been before the *watawutʃ*. One young man even asserted that sexual intercourse was allowed, provided the boy first took off his *upi* and left it in the *tobar*. Possibly this indicates a weakening in the observance of the rule, but it should be mentioned that the young man in question was not a very reliable informant, even when talking, as here, of matters with which he might be supposed to be well acquainted. Most people with whom I discussed this question were definitely of the opinion that a boy should not cohabit until he has finally removed the *upi*. The formal marriage ceremony is never held until the bridegroom has been through the *wasipsip*, although the girl to whom he has been betrothed, possibly from infancy, may have been living in his parents' hut for some time.

The keeping of this taboo imposes sexual continence upon the boys of this community not only during adolescence but also beyond it, since the *upi* may be seen on the heads of some who are, to judge from their appearance, fully mature young men. A few incidents illustrating the effect of this repression have been given in the previous pages, and some dreams reported by wearers of the *upi* are discussed in this connexion in Chapter XVI. The question

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

cussing them, as was the case with any practices savouring of 789
'poison'.

WAR MAGIC

Fighting is for these people a thing of the past, and I did not 726
make it a subject of special investigation. The following scraps 789
of war magic, which came my way incidentally, are perhaps worth
placing on record.

To make a war canoe go fast. (Petats.)

Catch an *arori* (a special kind of snake) and cut off about three inches [825]
of its tail (length shown by gestures). Put this in the bottom of the *mon* and fix it there with putty nut. It must remain there always. You must let the snake go. It soon grows another tail.

This is only for *mon* used in fighting. It makes the canoe outrun all the others and catch up with the enemy. It is not done to *mon* used for bonito fishing. There are no words used in this medicine.

The following account of preparations for an attack, and the capture of a prisoner, was given by Pinari, himself an old warrior, who had, as was obvious from the way in which he told it, himself often taken part in such raids.

'When our people went to fight in the olden days they would first prepare *wiriako*. To do this you take some lime, and the tip of an [826] ear of a *tsunaun* belonging to the enemy, whom you killed in another fight, and a bit of his eyelashes, and a bit of his pubic hair. Put these into a leaf with the lime, and make a bundle of it. This is powerful medicine belonging to the *urar*. Get leaves of *kiwar* and [824] hang them down the backs of the men who are going to fight.

'When you are ready to go out to fight, the man who understands about the *wiriako* undoes the packet, takes a pinch between his finger and thumb, puts it to his lips, and blows it in the direction of the enemy, calling out:

"Pah! Gun ma ti si nom ini!"
Exclam. "Get (*imperative*) man that (he) come here."

He beckons with one hand, holding the packet of *wiriako* with the other hand, and says:

"Di ma ia! Di ma ti si nom ini!"
"Fetch him! Fetch man that (he) come here!"

'Then the spirit (*aːtin*) of the man comes and enters the packet of *wiriako*. The man in charge of the packet binds it carefully and

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

159 woman that she was taken by *urar* to the place of the dead and saw her mother: 'This was a good dream; I was glad to see my mother.'
787 One man said to dream of the dead means that the dead man wants to speak to you, another that it is a sign that the dead wish you to join them. 'To see them in a dream makes him frightened.'

4. It is bad for a mother to dream of her children, and is interpreted to mean that the child will die.

147 With reference to the dreamer's condition on waking, on which
159 so much stress is laid by the narrators, it is probable that this may, in some cases at least, have an actual physical basis, due either to a mild degree of malaria, or possibly to indigestion or some kindred physical cause. As previously noted, dreams are apt to follow upon days of excitement, with which festive occasions a more than usually lavish supply of food is generally connected. But the word used is ambiguous, and does not necessarily mean actual physical sickness, but rather a feeling of 'malaise' which may be as much mental as physical. It is, indeed, a fact that no very clear distinction [828 is drawn between the two, for the seat of painful emotions, in the ●826] view of these people, is the stomach. The further implications of this 'affect' are discussed on p. 582.

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

154 Having now considered in detail the kind of incidents that occur in the dreams in my collection, it remains to discuss the significance of the collection as a whole. For this purpose it is convenient to adopt the classification proposed by Seligman (1923, p. 198), following Ernest Jones, which is as follows:

1. Dreams 'that are both sensible and intelligible, telling a connected story of the everyday world, the meaning of which is obvious . . . the mental processes resemble those of waking life'.

If we include dreams about *urar*, which are, as has been shown in other portions of this book, a very real part of the 'everyday world' to these people, the great majority of the dreams in my collection come under this head. As far as their 'manifest content' is concerned, they can be very simply related to recent happenings in the village, with which they are often connected by the dreamers themselves. It is noteworthy that there is no case which obviously goes back to the childhood of the dreamer, and but few relating to events long past. This agrees with the suggestion of Rivers (1923, p. 104): 'It is probable that dreams always arise out of recent